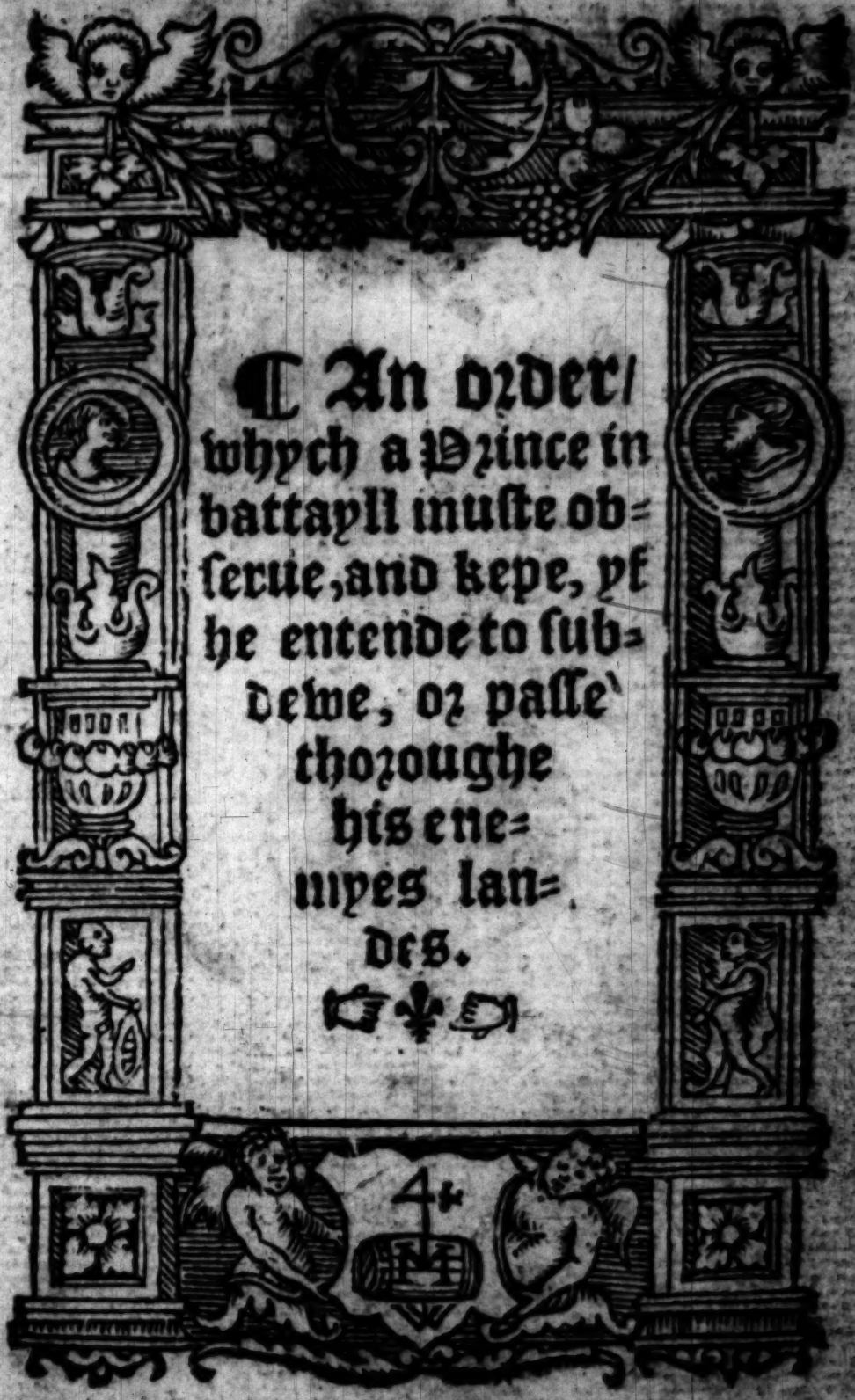
¶ An order/ whych a Prince in battayll muste obserue, and kepe, yf he entende to subdewe, or passe thorough his enemyes landes.



BRITISH MUSEUM

¶ A necessare order to be observed in battayll.

To starve your Enemy and drive away their Cattle

FYrst he must examin, whether hys cause be lawfull and iuste, for in a iuste cause: God shall assyste hym.

Item he must prouyde that he haue a sufficiente nomber of men and moneye redy for them.

Item he muste counsail, wyth the most wyse & experte mē of hys realme, of the weyght and daungers, that may fal: so that as farre as reason may leade him, he be not ignorante, what frute shall follow of hys bataill.

Item he muste prouyde that hys hoste lacke no vyttayles.

Itē he must see that he lacke no

engine and other thyng requyred to defende hym selfe or inuade hys ennemy.

Item that he haue capitaynes experte in warres the whych shall execute hys cõmaundement Item let hym be assuryd of hys owne cuntrey or he inuade hys enemy, and yf case require, sette it quyet or elles departe not.

Item lette hym leue behynde hym sũme noble and trusted man to order and yf nede be to subdew hys enemyes in hys absence and order them.

Item that the moste strongest fortresse be cõmytted to hys most trusty freyndes.

Item ỹ he oftentymes cõsulte & cõsiatll wyth hys wyse & experte cõsiall that he may know what is moste expediẽte to doo, and let hym

hym vſe theyre counſaill.

Item when he entreth hys enemyes landes, he ſhall call hys hoſte before hym ꝑ he may know the number, and yf he fynde any vnable to battaile put him away.

Item that he haue no ſuperfluous carryage, for ther of groweth greate dyſpleaſure, ſpecially, when a prince intendeth ſhorte victory, and then let hys vyttayles be hys mooſt carryage wherin muſt be taken a good order, ſo that he haue thē with him or paſſe by ſuch places wher it maybe had or els he waſſhethe a ſtone, that is to ſaye, he laboureth in vaine.

Howe onely by cuſtomable vſage of dedes of armes the Romaynes had the victory of all other nations.

The olde cuſtō to chooſe knigh-

tes at .xvi. yere was age ynough to be perfete in theyr age and to the custome of warre.

Also a prince must dyligently consyder, whych be most princypal and most expert, & ouer that, what euery man in hys hoste is mooste apte vnto.

For it is very perylous to set an vnexperte mā in aucthorite: for diuers mē haue dyuerse wyttes, and as they be, they must be vsed. Some be able to rewle an hoste: Some. C. kotemen, other a hundreth horsemē, some be good on horse, some be good on fote, other be good in felde or battail, other to inuade a castel, other to defende it, other sodeynly on horse to inuade an hooste, other swyfte on horsebacke to espye newes, other in rydyng, to compasse a felde and

de and note theyꝛe number, other apte to choſe a mete oꝛ apte place foꝛ a felde, other be experte in battaill, & naught whē they be at it, whoſe counſaill is not to be refuſed, other haue no experiēce, how be it they be valyaunt when they be putt therto, other be both experte and victoꝛyous, other be able neyther to counſail defēde noꝛ inuade, they be good at home. ℔ ſecta in vtilis. other be good in ingynes, other to make bꝛydges & paſſages, other to eſpye theyꝛ enemyes ſecretes, in dyſſymuled habite, other to gyue coūſell and dyſcuſſe ambaſſades, other mete foꝛ executiō of iuſtice, other mete to kepe a pꝛinces treaſure, and other thynges of charge.

Item the foꝛe warde of the battaill muſt be ſtronge aſwell wyth

horſemen, as with footemen, and let there be put his capitaines of the valyaunſte.

Item he muſte conſyder that hys felde be ſet to a aduauntage and accordynge therto the hoſte muſt be ordered.

Item that he prouide, where hys hoſte ſhall cõmodyouſly reſte or he departe from whens he is and diligently let hym note the cũtry whether it be plain, hilly, moũtaynes or full of waters, & what ſtraytes be therin.

Item yf he may, let hym haue it trewlye paynted or he enter: ſo that the daũgiers may be knowen and the horſemen may healpe the footemen in tyme of warre.

Itẽ let him prouide that his carriage trouble not his hoſt, yf they be inuaded, wherfore let them be conue=

conueyed by the one ſyde: prouy-
ded that they be ſurely garded.

Item there muſt be prouyſiõ, that all artillary maye be ſurely cary ed: for the loſſe of that is the perill of the hoſte.

Itẽ that the explorators be ſẽt to eſpye the iourneys of the aduerſaryes, and what vyttaylles they haue, with all other thinges by them intended.

Item that he take deliberatiõ, yf he may get the frendeſhyp of any greate man of hys enemyes counſayll, by corruption of money or otherwyſe, by whom he may know the purpoſe of hys fayde enemyes.

Item that euery day, there be ſent light horſemen to the aduerſaries hoſt to perceiue their purpoſe, leſt they be ſodẽly inuaded,

and

and alſo to thentente he may inuade them vnprouyded yf the caſe ſo requyred. Requiruntur multi ſecreti et fideles.

Item yf he can percey ue that hys aduerſary intende haſty battayle, let hym take hym ſelfe in a wayte, that he may prouyde hym in takyng of hys felde to his aduauntage, & put hym ſelfe ſhortely in order.

Item yf he knowe any daungerous waye betwene hym and hys enemeis, he ſhall by wyſdom and dilygence procede towarde that, vntyll he come wythin .iii. or .iiii. bowe ſhotes, and ther put hym ſelfe in order to inuade hys hoſte.

Item he muſte eſpye what artyllary hys enemies vſe & what order they take.

Item

to be obserued in barail.

Item euery country hath his maner of fyghtynge to there aduantage, and there enemyes cõ fusyon.

Item he must beware of euery harde and dowtefull passage, except he haue leasure to cõuaye hys hoste or excepte necessyte cõpelle hym.

Item it is better to abyde the comming to a bataill, then to inuade, for the fyrst commers cõmõly lacke order.

Itẽ yf the enemyes ryde oute of order, and wander, inuade thẽ, for lacke of order shal destroy thẽ

Item yf thyn enemyes drawe to hostry of no strength and dysperse them selfe, then they be esyer taken.

Item when the hoste draweth nere to the enemies, let the war-

des

des come night together for their better surcottes.

Item that footemen be onthe one syde not mixte wyth horsemē, ꝙ generaretur confusio.

Item in euery warde must be some wyth hand gunnes, crosbowes and other manuall ingyns, and likewyse in the latter warde, to put a syde the lyhgt horsemen.

Item yf he may let hym, prouyde that the sonne and wynde, be for him, specyally for duste, yf there be any.

Itē yf he be horsed, and strōger then hys enemy, let hym prouoke hym to open bataill in the playne felde, and yf hys footemē be myghtyer then hys enemyes horsemē, let hym take the aduaūtage of a streyght place.

Item when he inuadeth hys ene=

enemy lette hys carriage be put, in the one ſyde & ſurely garded.

Item he ſhall put hys ingynes of battaill betwene him and hys enemyes and well defende them.

Item yf he be compelled to folowe hys enemye, and for default of vittaile to inuade therni, or yf he dreade leſt hys hoſte forteſy hys company, ſo ỹ he can not eſcape, excepte he ouercome his hoſte, let him ſtudy to breake hys felde, that is to ſay, let hym vexe thẽ wyth gonnes and other poyntes of warre, ſo ỹ they maye diſorder them ſelfes.

Item a prince muſte note the tyme and vſe as it ſerueth hym.

Item when he is actually entered battail, hys hoſt ſhall ſtãde ſtyll in a cluſt, erand in no wyſe remoue

remoue frome the place, whatsoeuer he see, though he see his cõpany partely flee & partely slayne, and also though he see hys enemyes flee, for order maketh and marreth all.

Item whē thou hast inuaded thyne enemyes w the forе & hynder warde, let the myddell stande styffe and close to helpe bothe, as nede shall requyre, and whē both wardes haue well fought, let the myddell warde fyght, but for all that let, them not dysorder them selfe excepte compulsyon.

Item he must haue prouysion for passages of waters,

Itē before the batayl, a prince must see the order of his host, and reforme all thynges mysordered, and thys may not be forgotten.

Item he shal shew them, that he wyll

he wyll lyue and dye wyth them that day, and that beſydes theyre perpetuall honour, he wyl neuer forget to honour & rewarde thē.

additio. And for thys let him ſee courageyous prynces orations, as Alexander, Catiline, wyth other infinite. &c.

Item he ſhal neyther magnifye hys enemy nor deſpyce hym but encorage hys cappytaygnes, to kepe there order, & yf that they ſo doo, the victory wyll folowe.

Itē he ſhall practiſe that both his enemy and hys hoſte, may alwaye thynke that more ſtrength is commynge to hym.

Item that he ſee no robbyng, and that he commaūde hys captaines to ſee that obſerued, payne of death.

Item that he execute indyffe-

rente-

rently iustice, and punysche them, that cause debates.

Item when hys enemyes doo treate of peace, then let hym selfe leste awayt. Propter pericula in hoc casu experta.

Item let no mã passe hys cũtry, and inuade an other, without nede require, excepte he see, howe he may returne wyth honour, or howe he may surely abyde there: it is but symplenes to goo vp and downe in a cũtry, and to ryde farre in it, and harde it is to be longe sure in a cuntrey straung, and to returne w̃ honor, for in the tyme of Talbot .xl knyghtes of Englãde laied sege to ỹ towre of Roane, and whẽ they lacked that was necessary for theyr defence, therfore they loste it, & lyke thynges were done in at Bytaine at Uuas,

mans where they loſte all.

Item yf any tydynges come forthwyth, let them be herde, and folow the, as the tyme ſhall ſerue

Item a prince, muſt be keping hys promyſe, elles no man ſhall truſte hym.

Item he muſte ſtudy to haue the fauoure of the beſte of the cũ=ſtrey, and he muſte be iuſte and egall.

Item a prince muſte ſtudy to haue the freindeſhyp of the cun=treis adioynyng, and let hym not haue, battaill wyth diuers at on=ce; excepte he be compelled, for there is moche ſuttelty vſed.

Item in the day of the battaill he muſt haue aboute hym, a cer=ten of the vyſeſt & mooſt experte men, to kepe follow and coũſaill them.

Item he muste prouyde that hys enemyes espye not the number of hys hoste and the order of the same.

Item yf it fortune hym to lese a batayll or .ii. or to lese hys artillary, then pollicy is to resorte to some fortres, and there to call hys hoste togyther, & to refreshe them as nedethe and to get newe men, and to take peace yf he can, and in the meane tyme to make hys fortresse stronge, tyll he be able by some meanes to make bataill, and to haue all thynges rede therfore.

Item he shall sette hys tentes nyghe to hys enemies hoste that he may trouble and breake theyr aray.

Item he muste beware that he be not beseged.

Item

to be obserued in battail.

Item he must beware that after one bataile lost, he begine not anotherforthwyth, excepte necessyte compell hym, for after a dystrage the hoste can not sodenely be apte to fyght, for woūdes and mornynges shall let them & theyr enemyes after vyctory, be more imboldet, how be it oftentymes, men thynke vpon dyspleasure to be reuēged and so for lacke of policy take fury rebuke and in thys maner Charles duke of Burgon was destroyed, wherfore set reasō before wyll, and begyn to thynke nothynge harde to perfourme.

Item yf thou wynne a batail or a forteresse of thyne enemies, pursew hym graciously, and suffer him neyther to reste nor to restable hys strēgth, wysdom it is to folowe the aduauntage.

Item yt thou get a cuntry cō=
mitte it to some greate man, and
lykewyse of forteresses, and let
hym be well intreated, and lacke
no moneye for suche men woulde
be cherysshed.

¶ The maner of besē=
gyng a forteresse.

First a Prince muste remēbre
whether he haue sufficient mē
to besege yt in. iii. diuers par
ties, & whether ouer that he haue
men sufficyente for hys owne de=
fence and moneye bothe.

Item he muste prouyde artyl=
lary and vittayles necessary and
let him well beware that his vit=
tayll come not to hys enemyes
handes, and this principall to be
noted.

Item

Item he muste espye some mā that knowethe the strengthe of the forteresse and theyr counsell muste he vse.

Item he must espye how it be most easely taken where and hys hoste may beste set theyr felde for theyr assuerty.

Item that done set them in the forwarde that were before sente to espye the strengthe of the forteresse well furnysshed wyth archers, and dyggers and all other thynges.

Item let them cōme as nyghe to the walles as they can and so order them that they may reiecte theyre enemies dartes.

Item aboue all thynges prouide that nothyng may passe out or enter into the forteresse, for yf one gate be open it shall be neuer

euercome.

Item let one warde be euer redy to helpe the other as nede shal requyre.

Item the fyrste daye of besegyng the felde must be forteyfied.

Item mẽ must be sente to euery place to espye whether any rescue be intended .&c. and yf it so be let hym consyder there power and yf he see parell remowe hys hoste and hys artyllary lest he be inuaded in bothe sydes, & voyde to some sure forteresse, for ỹ tyme

Item yf he see his enemies of small power he maye set some to fyght wyth thẽ and other to kepe the sege.

Item whẽ the walles be broken forteyfy hys mẽ, and make an assawte, prouided that he leue behynde them both horsemen and

fotemen

ſotemen, to wythſtãde hys backe enemyes ſoz that not doynge the erle of Arminac loſte by Sander a caſtell of Lumbardy.

Item yf he be put a backe in the fyrſt conflicte let hym inuade allone as the daye folowyng, foz vpon a victozy oftentymes the oppidants be negligent, truſtynge not ſodeynly to be inuaded, by thys prouiſyon many places and foꝛteres hath ben optayned.

Item many other thynges be required how be it a prince muſte ſpecyally beware of treaſon and ſimulation.

❧ Howe a Prince beſeged ſhall ozder hym ſelfe.

Aboue all thynge a Prynce muſt ſtudy aſwel in tyme of peace as in warre be knowe

hys neyghbours myndes, and oftentymes to sẽde ozacozs to thẽ aswell to nourysshe loue as to knowe theyr good wyll.

Item yf he see by a Pzynces ozdinaũce that he intẽdeth warre let hym streyngthe hys fozteresse towardes that contry.

Itẽ let hym make some freinde in that Pzinces house by whõ he may knowe what is intended.

Itẽ yf he be assurid ỹ the pzince intẽdeth hym warre let hym pzepare an hoste of as myghty men as hys money wyll suffer hym to doo, and yf he thynke hym suffycient to ouercom him, let hym folowe hys foztune and tarry hys enemie in the entre to hys contry oz yf he maye in hys enemyes contrye.

Item yf he thynke hym selfe vnsuf-

vnsufficyente in men and money let hym fortify hys hedde places nexte to hys enemyes, and garde them wyth money.

Item yf there be moo fortereſſes then he maye furnyſhe let them be take downe and all maner vyttayll be caryed frō thens, and the cuntry lefte bare.

Item let him haue good capitaygnes in hys Fortereſſes the whyche maye doo hys enemyes daylye dyſpleaſure and dyſperſe his hoſte, as it was done at Wytz and other places.

Item horſemen muſt be prouided as it ſhalbe thought neceſſary to take the meſſengers, and then make prouiſion with order.

Itē yf ſuch obſtacles be purueyed for enemies they ſhal lytle preuayle.

How

How a forteresse shal be kept and howe they that be beseged shall order theyr selfe.

FYrste dygge vp the erthe to the heyght of the walles, for gonnes and other ingynes.

Item the bulwarkes must be fortefyed and he muste beware that the innar byldynges ioyne not to the walles for nygh to the walle inwardly muste be made a trenche to a good heyght so that yf the wall fayle the wall of erth may helpe.

Item he muste haue good capitaynes to order and visite hys watche of the walles and men experte.

Item crosbowes, bũbardes, dykers, phisitiõs, surgeons, potticares

ticares, wyth all other thynges neceſſarye.

Item he muſt haue one capitayne to ozder hys watches as nede ſhall require.

Item euery nyght the walles muſt be ſene and an ozder ſet and kepte foz there ſure cuſtody.

Item there muſte be watche kepte nygh to the walles to helpe there kepers as nede ſhall require, and alſo to withſtãde inwarde treaſon.

Item yf there be any noyſe let euery mã go to there owne place foz oftẽtimes ſuch noyſe is made, to maike men ronne together, whyle theyze enemyes inuade.

Item lette it be taken heade theyze whyles, that theyz waters be not poyſoned.

Item when he ſhall inuade,

let

let hym well counsayll, and hys commodities foresene.

Item yf the walles be brokē, lette thē be amended forthe with, for feare of inuasion, as it was at the Rodes, whyles the Lorde was at masse.

Item let it euer be cōmoned, that more people shall cōme, to healpe to put them in better cōforte.

Item a prince muste be ware that theyre be noo murmure in the hooste and yf theyre be, that they be openlye punysshed.

Item yf the capitaine vnderstande, that any battaille is lost, or forefereresse taken, vnknowen vnto hys hooste, let that be kepte secrete, and lette hym euer shewe hys hooste, thynges of comforte and pleasure.

Item

Item in the principal partes, muſte be ſette pryncypall men.

Item he muſte haue gnydes, that knowe the countrye.

Item yf anye meſſage come, letſe him ponder, and repelye diſcuſſe yt, and be not ouer lyghte of credence.

Itē yf it be a countrye of hylles, waters, or of ſtraytes, he muſte haue the moo footemen.

Item when it is proceded in battaille, ſome wyſe men ſtronge and ſure, muſte be leſte behynde, leſte they inuayde in ỹ inner parte of the battaylle.

Item let newe lockes of gaytes ofte be maide for feare of coũterfeytynge, and it muſte be prouyded of ſure kepers.

Item in the nyght, there muſt be ſure watche, aboute, the yates

for

foꝛ daungers, that maye fall, as it was done at Arras.

Item there muſte be made barrars, nyghe vnto the foꝛetereſſe foꝛ the defence of footemen, and the ſauety of hoꝛſemen, and dyuerſe other conſyderations.

Itē the walles ſhall be ſtrengthed wyth thoꝛnes, foꝛ ſhakinge.

Item pꝛyſoners muſt be well entreated, and yf thou take hym that is not trew vnto hys pꝛince, punyſhe hym foꝛthe wythall.

Item yf any enemyes trēate of delyueraunce, of theyꝛ foꝛetereſſes heare it well, but be not lyghte of credence, foꝛ theyꝛe be many ſoutteltyes ymagined, and at Betynam many were by that meane deſtroyed.

Itē the watche muſt be kepte all nyghte, and the watche men not

not departe, vntyll euery thynge be ſuere.

Item when the yates muſt be opened, there muſte be ſo manye preſente, as may wythſtande the ſecrete aſſaute of theyr enemyes, for by thys meane Leyſtoure was taken, for whē. ii. or. iii. had opened the yates, theyre enemyces ſecretlye hydde, inuaded them and ſlewe them, and theire was treaſon wythin.

Item there muſte be manye porters, for fewe maye be ſone ſlayne by treaſon. &c.

Item yf any in the nyght ſeaſon call to come in the whyche by name and voyce be knowen, that notwythſtandynge, lye ſecrete eſpies let it be knowē, what nōber there be of thē & when ꝯ openeſte

the

the vtter gayte, see the innarre gayte shytte, for Frenche men by thys meane, toke Moelã, for. iiii. traytours fayned, that they had brought Inglyshe men from the battaylle of sayncte Denys, they opened the gaytes, and were dysceyued,

Item manye men wyll consyder and counsayll dyuerse, and great thynges, to be attempted, be not swyfte to fololwe theyre counsaylle.

Item some be ignoraunt, and dreade no pareylle:

Item some wyll perswade, and counsaill greate thynges to be done, that they may be taken, and thoughte cowragyous, the whyche in effecte be of noo courage, Hi in bello extremi.

Item lettè hym beware, that none

none of hys hooſte haue to great familyaritie wyth hys enemyes for feare of treaſon.

Item when he wyll battayle lette it be ſecretlye done, that the guyders knowe it not, and lette the gaytes be faſte ſhytte before he cauſe men to putte them in armes, alſo let men be ſette to kepe diligentelie the paſſages, oute of the cytie, that none may go vnto theyre enemyes to ſhewe the preparations that is made againſte them, alſo when he ſhal come vnto the fylde wyth hys ennemyes to fyghte, lette hym take awaye contrary vnto that waye, whych myghte be thoughte he woulde take, and after he hathe gone .ii. or .iii. myles, in that waye, lette him returne vnto the way, whych was fyrſte thought, that he wold

haue take, but let hym take good counſell hede, that neyther the guydes, noꝛ other of hys com-pany know whether he wyll goo vnto the tyme that they be in the feylde.

Item yf any of the carriages oꝛ guydes of the waynes come in to the towne let it be ſeene that, at theyꝛe commynge in, one of the yates be ſhyte,

Item yf it foꝛtune any of the ſowldyers to be hurte, oꝛ wound-ed in battell oꝛ elles oute of the battel, lette the pꝛinces oꝛ theyꝛ miniſters ſee the medecine be mi-nyſtred vnto them in dewe oꝛder lette them be viſited and gentel-lye intreated with good and ſofte woꝛdes, and let the neyther lacke phyſicyon noꝛ ſurgyon foꝛ theſe ſayde thinges do encourage and nou-

nouriſhe the hartes of warryers, and make them ſtronge and wyl-lynge to fyght,

Item it behoueth a pꝛince to make good ſerche and to knowe whyche of hys company be moſte diligente valyaunte and taught in feates of warre, and of them make moſt and to nouriſhe them wyth great liberalyte accoꝛdyng to theyꝛ merites, foꝛ the lyberalite of a pꝛince cauſeth hys compa-nye to be diligent, and alſo mul-teplyeth and encreaſeth the ſame

Itē it apperteyneth to a pꝛin-ce to foꝛbydde that none of hys company entende conflycte oꝛ to goo oute of hys hooſte wythoute lycence of theyꝛe capytaynes.

Item many other thynges might be reherſed, wherby enemi-es myght be conſtrayned and te-

pꝛeſſed

preſſed, but take thys for a gene=
rall concluſyon, that the effecte
of battayll conſyſtethe and ſtan=
deth in.iii.thynges, that is to ſay
in the abundans of money, in
good order putte and kepte, and
in folowynge the counſayll and
aduertiſemēt of wyſe and experte
warryers.

¶ To pacifye the ſedition of ſowldyours.

VAan A. Manlius conſule,
hadde perceyued, that hys
ſowdiours grudged againſt
the menne of Campania, where
they were nowe lodged, conſpy=
rynge togyther to ſlee theyr ho=
ſtes, and after to take away their
goodes, he ſpred abrode thys ru=
mour, that they ſhulde lye there
ſtyll

styl all the wynter, and thus they of theyr purpose let and dysturbed, he delyuered Campania frō greate perylle, and as tyme and occasion serued, punysshed them that were causers of that seditiō.

What tyme the legyons of the Romaynes were furyously sente and bente on perylious sedytion, Lucius Sylla restored them from theyr rage vnto a quietenes by thys polycie: He commaunded, that worde shulde be brought te hastely to the hooste, that theyr enemyes were at hande, and that they shoulde rayse vp a crye, and call them to harneys, and blowe vp the trumpettes, wherby he brake of the seditzon, they all togyther cōsentyng as nede required, agaynste theyr enemyes.

what

What tyme Pompeius hoost hadde slayne the Senatoures of Milan, for feare of trouble and busynes, that myghte haue happened, yf he shoulde haue called the offenders alone to examination, he sente for them all togyther, as well for the fautlesse, as the gyltie, so that they semed to be sẽt for, for some other purpose and therfore appered they that were fautye, wyth lesse feare, bycause they came not alone: and they, whose conscience pleded them not gyltye, gaue good attendaunce, to kepe them that were fautie, lest peraduenture theit escape and flyght, myghe haue tourned thẽ to displeasure.

Impzinted at Londō in saynt
Andzews pavysshe besyde
Baynards castell by
Thomas Ray-
nold and Wyl
liam Hyll.